1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it so much."(9)

The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it was one month the first time, then four days.(9) At Akchin, eight days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days, with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four days after the return.(5)

In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night, until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all. Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away, each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratching stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife was under no restrictions.[12]

Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes to offer their daughters.

12 This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 159); Laguna (Parsons, 1923, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

626 681 Such a fear, together with public opinion, took care of many minor offenses which other societies deal with by law and even of some major ones. For the other major offenses, there were various methods of discipline: admonition by the authorities, banishment; supernatural vengeance, and, finally, whipping. We may trace, in the acts catalogued as misdemeanors and in their punishment, two attitudes, the aboriginal and the acculturated, overlapping and combining in various ways.

674 681 From the aboriginal point of view, the major offenses against society were incest (which meant connections with any known relative); the failure of a woman to segregate herself at menstruation or childbirth, and the practise of sorcery. Any of these were thought to bring calamity upon the whole community and if whipping had been a Papago institution, we should expect these to be the first to merit it. However, whipping was rarely mentioned in this connection and the usual punishments were not meted out by man at all but by the supernatural. Families who knew that any of their members 684 were about to commit incest or had done so, dealt with them by moral suasion and, if that failed, took them to the Keeper of the Meeting or the governor. If they still refused to separate, the only punishment was to force them to leave the family group. This was a serious economic misfortune and might be considered a punishment though it was done only to avoid calamity for the family. The offenders were certain to be struck with illness or misfortune by supernatural means.

688 The woman who did not segregate herself brought on her community the danger of flood or lightning and therefore her relatives, and particularly her parents saw to it that she did her duty. If she deceived them, calamity could be averted by her confession and then she was not punished for confession removed the evil influence. But if she did not confess, a supernatural doom would overtake her and some or all of her connections.

683 The sorcerer was treated in an entirely different way: his was the one case where the Papago performed an official execution. It is possible that sorcery was more frequent than other lapses for the Spanish records are full of it, and one Spanish priest is even said to have died of it. But certainly, vengeance in this case was not left to the supernatural though any good shaman was welcome to try and kill the evil one. But when the latter had proved himself a public menace by the number of deaths he was thought to have caused, the council would decree his death and send some young man out with a club to despatch him. Or the villagers all together might lynch him, or several do the work on their own initiative and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

be thanked by the council. The record of the calendar stick is punctuated with such executions. 683

Murder, in the Papago view, was not a crime. It took place generally at the drinking feast or in a quarrel over a woman, and the victim's family then had a right to kill the murderer or a member of his family. The Keeper, governor and elders remonstrated with them and begged them not to make the village lose a man, but if they insisted, "no one would interfere." One instance was recited where the murderer had fled the country but his brother was still in the village. The victim's brothers came to the door of his house and told him: "We are going to kill you. Send your wife and children away." He sent them away and then came to meet his executioners. After his death his wife tore down the house, according to the usual custom and all the village united in rebuilding it for her at another place and in helping to support her for life (2). 674 627

Murder was considered by the Spaniards a crime for which the offender should be delivered to the provincial authorities, but the Papago ignored the ruling except when soldiers or priests were sent to enforce it. Assault and battery was considered a family affair, like murder and in old times it was left to the people concerned. However, the priests thought it a matter for the whipping post and in some places it came to have that penalty. 683

There was considerably less scope for sexual offenses than in modern society and a man, particularly, had a great deal of freedom. If he conceived a sudden passion, he could always take the woman as an additional wife, after the proper preliminaries of divorce for a married woman or proposal for a maiden. There were official nights of saturnalia, at the drinking feast and the maiden's dance when he could gratify a briefer desire. Homosexual tendencies were openly acknowledged and sanctioned. 684 786 [838]

Yet sexual offenses did occur. Rape is never mentioned and an illicit affair with a maiden was not important, but one with a married woman, without the proper divorce, was an infringement of the husband's property right. The husband could destroy or appropriate the lover's property and, if he killed him, would not be interfered with. A woman had less freedom and less consolation. There were no female transvestites and a woman could take advantage of the saturnalian feasts only with her husband's consent. She could have only one husband and, if she preferred another man must be divorced and become a second wife. If her husband was having a love affair, she had no remedy but to scratch the other woman while the village looked on. When too much outraged, she 684 [839] 837

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

684 837 could but return to her family. However, sexual offenses were a point where the native and Christian points of view overlapped. Adultery, in the eyes of the Church, was a cardinal sin, and in villages where missionary influence was felt, both male and female adulterers were punished at the whipping post.

685 The chief native offenses against property (if we except the stealing of a wife) were theft, the moving of land boundaries, and food hoarding. Theft was a rare occurrence, since all had about the same amount of possessions and since families shared even with their laziest members. In old days, it was dealt with by the Keeper, who asked the offender's family to make restitution. Public opinion forced them to comply or lose their status in the community. The moving of land boundaries was dealt with in the same way. The two landholders concerned were summoned before the Keeper by his Leg and urged to come to an agreement. Sometimes the Keeper would suggest that they should divide the land under dispute and each find an extra plot further off. The hearing usually took place before all the elders and both were ashamed to show themselves quarrelsome; so they accepted the decision. If one were recalcitrant without good cause, the council might ask him to leave the village. Food hoarding was recognized by all as a serious offense, but it was not punished. The offender was simply recognized as a public enemy and avoided to such an extent that he and his family suffered economically from lack of help and socially from loneliness and humiliation.

681 This seems to sum up the offenses and the discipline of pre-Spanish days. The community and officials acted principally as umpires and used no corporal punishment except in the killing of the shaman which was regarded as an act of self defense. The punishments of admonition and banishment which they did administer, fell, not upon the individual offender but on his whole family. It has been mentioned above that a family, particularly a father and brothers, would not desert a man no matter what his behavior. If they could not reform him, they might, themselves, take him to the authorities for a severe lecture on the fact that he was ruining his family's position. They might share in this lecture for having failed to keep him in order. If he was so impossible that he must be asked to leave the village one or more of the family would have to go with him — since an individual could hardly exist alone, — or distant relatives must take him in. In any case, there was no thought of the penalty singling out the individual and leaving the family free. With supernatural vengeance, this was particularly true for misfortune might strike any member of the family and not necessarily the culprit.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

681 Whipping was ordered by the Spanish appointed governor who held his court with some little ceremony. On receiving a complaint, he sent his Leg out to bring in the offender whom he received in front of his house, generally with some elders present as advisors. If the offense was acknowledged, he announced the penalty immediately and the Leg carried it out. But if the plea was not guilty, he sent the Leg for witnesses and asked each of them, "What do you know about this?" He made up his mind after hearing their stories and consulting the elders. However, the Papago are not a people given to formality and the following instances, remembered by the daughter of the governor of Kuitatk reflect a neighborliness not perhaps contemplated by the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies.

● 684 Once a wife came, very angry, to complain about her husband. "He beats me," she said, "but I love him." My father sent his Leg for the husband. He said to that man: "Do you beat her?" he said. "Yes," said that man. "I beat her because I am jealous. I think she looks at other men. But I want to keep her." "Then," said the woman, "let him pay me with his body. Let him be beaten too." My father thought about that and he said, "Very well. How many stripes?" "Fifty." "Do you want to kill him?" said my father. "Twenty." So the man took off his shirt and knelt down and the Leg beat him.

A man came with his daughter. "She went off into the arroyo with a man at the last girl's puberty dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said the chief. "She is young."

Then a husband and wife came with their girl who had just been married. "She will not sleep with the man to whom we gave her." That man was an old man but he was all right. My father (the chief) knew that. He knew the girl was just scared. He said, "Well, we'll beat her and see how she feels." So they tied the girl's hands to the post. She began to cry. She said, "I'll go with him." So she went off with her husband and my father said to the parents," If she doesn't behave, bring her back." (26)

178 692 The governor's whipping post lasted on during the early years of American authority in Papagueria, before the reservations were organized. With the latter event came the appointment of Indian judges, Indian policemen paid by the government and a reservation jail. These deal with minor offenses, principal of which is the old one first turned over to the *alcalde*—drunkenness. This neurosis of a transition stage is at present far more frequent than offenses against property or morals. However, the Indians show a tendency

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

never tasted anything like it. Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has no strength. But when I am weak, when I am tired, my grandchildren make me gruel out of the wild seeds. That is *food*.

I used to help my mother. When I was very little I began to grind the seeds, just for a short time. When I was ten years old I did it all, for then a daughter should be able to take over the work and let her mother sit down to baskets. But I am telling you about the early days when I could only grind a little. Then we pulled the grinding slab inside the house by the fire and my mother knelt behind it. I picked the dirt out of the seeds and handed them to her, and the pot boiled on the hearth on the three stones that we kept there.

My father was very busy, for he was the chief of our village. People used to bring their quarrels to him, and I remember him sitting crosslegged under the arbor we had to keep off the sun, listening with his head bent and his arms folded, while people talked.

"My daughter disappeared with a man on the last night of the maiden's dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said my father. He was a gay man who liked to war and to gamble. He did not like to beat women.

Some days nobody would come, and then he would gamble with the other men, throwing the sticks that we use for dice, and then moving stones around a circle as many moves as there were marks on the stick. We used to hear the men singing in a low tone, before they threw, to give them luck:

Down I shall throw
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner.

They smoked, too, and I can smell their tobacco yet, the strong wild tobacco that we do not have any more. It was tied in a long corn husk, so white, so nice, and when one man passed it to another he said: "Friend!" And the other said, "Friend."

When the sun was high, high, my brothers and my sister came home, and as each one came my mother gave them food. She dipped the gruel out of the pot into a bowl, for my mother was a good potter. We all had bowls in our house. Only my father and my mother ate out of the same one laughing together, because they liked each other. When my mother dipped out our food she said: "Do not eat it hot. You will have wrinkles." She set mine on the grinding slab to cool. "It will make you industrious," my mother said. My father said to the boys: "Do not eat it hot, no matter

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

So he talked to them, and then they spoke of whether they would widen the ditches and if the boys were practising well for the races, and maybe a man from some other village was there to tell them the news. There was not a man among us who would miss that meeting. 159x 617 721

We women sat in the dark, under the shelter, and told about the strange things we had heard. We told how there is a root which men carry to make the deer come to them and it makes women come, too. It smells strong and sweet, and you can smell it on the sweaty hands of a man beside you in the dance. If it is very strong and has been used in many love matches, sometimes it turns into a man. It walks up beside a woman while she is sleeping and makes her dream. 159x 517 [732]

We told how, in our village, a girl was struck by lightning. Someone must have been menstruating and not have confessed it, said the medicine man. So he called all the girls, took out his crystals and looked at them. "It was the girl herself," he said. "She has killed herself." 159x 761 821

We told how, when a woman does not seem to care for any man or a man for any woman, that person is really married to a snake. There was a man in our village who used to go out alone into the desert and disappear in a wash. His parents followed him and found there a little red snake with her baby snakes on her back. They said to their son: "What! have you a family of snakes?" He said: "No, she is a beautiful woman." That is how snakes fool you. The older women used to tell us, too, that if we thought too much about any boy before we were married, that boy would seem to come and make love to us. But it would not be he, it would only be a snake. So girls must not think too much about boys. That was what the old women told us. We must not think about boys and we must not talk to boys. When we were married it would be time enough to speak to a man. Now it was better to work and be industrious. 159x 834 864

So I worked. But I used to think while I was sitting under the shelter with my basketry, about whether I would get a good man and whether I would like being married. I used to hear a good deal about married peoples' troubles, because my father was chief in Mesquite Root. Married people who had quarrels brought their troubles to him. There was a post in front of our house where people were beaten who did wrong, and all the village would come to see and talk about what happened. 159x 622 681

Once I remember how a wife came, very angry. She had walked a long way to tell about her husband. "He beats me," she said to my father. "You who are One Made Big Over Us, he beats me! But I love him." My father used to smile at things like that. He was a warrior and a gambler. He did not care about beating women. But he always settled things for them. So 159x 684

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

he sent for the husband. "Do you beat her?" "Yes," said the man. He was a young man. I remember how he looked at the woman, his wife, while he stood there. "Yes, I beat her. But I want her with me. I'm jealous. I beat her because I think she looks at other men." "I don't look at other men," said the woman crying. So her husband said very quickly: "Oh, I want her back. It's all right." "Will you stop beating her?" "Yes, yes." The woman said: "But he has beaten me already. Many times and for nothing. Let him pay me." "How?" "With his body," said the woman. "Let him be beaten as I was beaten." My father thought about that and he said: "All right. How many stripes?" "Fifty." "You want to kill him," said my father. "I'll make it twenty." So the man knelt down and took off his shirt. The chief did not beat wrong doers himself. He had a messenger who was called the Chief's Leg. That Leg was a man who meant much to me later on. He took the rawhide whip to beat the man, but he did not raise too many welts. Men are sorry for each other.

Another time a father came with his daughter. "This girl will not lie with the man to whom I gave her." My father looked at the new husband who had come, too, and he thought he seemed a good man. "Is it true?" my father said to the girl. "Don't you want this man?" "Yes, it's true I'm afraid." "Well, we'll beat you. Then you can decide." So they tied her hands and the girl whimpered: "I'll take him." "Take her by the hand," my father told the husband, "and lead her home. If she misbehaves, come back."

I thought about that girl sometimes and I thought I would have been afraid, too. Then I asked my mother, though I did not tell her how I was feeling. My mother said: "It's right to be afraid of men. All good girls are."

We girls never saw men except our brothers. And our brothers kept away from us now we were almost maidens. They said that sometime we might become maidens suddenly and then if they touched anything that we had touched, it would take away their strength. So the boys did not play with us any more.

But I used to think about boys when I was—let me see, we do not count our ages—thirteen. Sometimes I thought I heard flutes at night. I do not know if it was really boys playing them or if I only dreamed it. But the music drove me wild. The flute is what our boys play when they want a woman to come to them and I wanted to go.

But my father said to me: "Never talk to a man alone. If one comes to the house when there is no one there but you, then offer him food. If he is a relative, say: 'Wait till I cook you something.' Even if he is a stranger, say: 'You had better eat.' But do not talk while you feed him. And if you have nothing in the house tell him quickly so he will go away and not wait, expecting."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
[186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

553 tages which the child gains are supposed to be health,
261 strength, and luck; untoward happenings are also pre-
vented even to the family itself. If the birth occurred
[777] in the season of thunder-storms, the danger to the child,
or a near relative, of being killed by lightning will be
553 averted. For four days after the ceremony the parents
abstain from eating salt and jack-rabbit meat, and they
must not do much work; the father cannot hunt.

837 The natural characteristic of the Papago is to be vir-
● 684 tuous. According to Indian reports, a woman caught in
adultery used to be punished with death. In recent times
whipping has been the penalty and the custom of killing
184 her animals still prevails. The tribe has been notably
stable in racial qualities during centuries of contact with
whites. Intermixture to-day rarely takes place except
in Sonora, where the Mexicans have taught the Indians
new customs. In the out-of-the-way places of southern
Arizona a few Americans are known to have Papago
wives; they have children and to all appearances are
known to lead happy lives, for the lady of the house is in-
telligent, quite good-looking, clean, and very industrious.
During my stay at Sonoita several couples came to be
married by the civil authority there.

682 Murder was left to the family of the murdered person
to punish. From an American who speaks their lan-
838 guage and lives in the central part of the Papagueria, I
received what I must accept as reliable information with
regard to unnatural vice, which perhaps may be more or
less restricted to that locality. Several startling instances
were told me by him and also by a trustworthy Indian